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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY MADRID

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USCINC EUR

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SP, NATO

SUBJECT: BRIEFING ON SPAIN FOR APRIL 9 NAC

REFS.: A) MADRID 2294 B) USNATO 1885

1. FOLLOWING DRAWS ON MADRID 2294 AND IS
TEXT FOR YOUR BRIEFING OF ALLIES ON US-SPANISH
NEGOTIATIONS FOR APRIL 9 NAC. AT PRESENT, WE BELIEVE
US PRESENTATION SHOULD FOLLOW THESE LINES, WITH NAC
QUESTIONS REFERRED TO WASHINGTON. HOWEVER, WE WELCOME
FACT (REF B) THAT DEPUTY ASSISTANT SEC. BERGOLD WILL
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ALSO BE PRESENT AT THIS PRESENTATION, AND BELIEVE

HE MAY BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL IN ANY INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS THAT MAY ARISE WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS FOLLOWING NAC PRESENTATION. BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE BASIS FOR US DEFENSE COOPERATION WITH SPAIN IS THE 1970 BILATERAL AGREEMENT OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION, WHICH THE US SIGNED AS AN EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT NOT REQUIRING RATIFICATION BY THE SENATE. THIS FIVE-YEAR AGREEMENT EXTENDED THE ARRANGEMENT BY WHICH THE US HAS BEEN ABLE TO USE MILITARY FACILITIES IN SPAIN SINCE 1953.

2. NEGOTIATIONS TO RENEW THE 1970 AGREEMENT - WHICH EXPIRES SEPTEMBER 26, 1975 EGAN FORMALLY IN NOVEMBER LAST YEAR. AMB. MCCLOSKEY, FOR THE US, AND DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER JUAN JOSE ROVIRA, FOR THE SPANISH, HAVE MET FOR FIVE NEGOTIATING ROUNDS, THE MOST RECENT BEING HELD IN MADRID APRIL 2-5. THE INFORMAL AGENDA FOR THE TALKS, BASED ON A SPANISH SUGGESTION, GIVES TOP PRIORITY TO TWO ITEMS:

1. NATURE OF US-SPANISH DEFENSE RELATIONS.
2. COORDINATION OF THOSE RELATIONS WITH THE WESTERN DEFENSE SYSTEM.

3. THE FIRST THREE NEGOTIATING SESSIONS CONCENTRATED ON AGENDA ITEM 1, WITH THE EMPHASIS ON THE FEASIBILITY OF A SECURITY GUARANTEE FOR SPAIN. THE SPANISH POSITION CAN BE SUMMARIZED ROUGHLY AS FOLLOWS:

A). SPAIN HAS STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE BOTH BECAUSE OF ITS LOCATION AND ITS MILITARY RESOURCES.

B). SPAIN CONTRIBUTES TO WESTERN DEFENSE THROUGH THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US, WHICH USES FACILITIES IN SPAIN TO SUPPORT NATO.

C). SPAIN DOES NOT ENJOY ANY SECURITY GUARANTEE FROM THE US, NOR IS SHE COVERED BY THE MUTUAL SECURITY COMMITMENT UNDER NATO.

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D) THE RISKS ASSUMED BY SPAIN IN THIS DISCRIMINATORY SITUATION ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE LACK OF BENEFITS FLOWING FROM PARTICIPATION BY SPAIN IN THE WESTERN DEFENSE SYSTEM. -

4. AS THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE PROCEEDED, THE US HAS ATTEMPTED TO EXPLAIN WHAT MIGHT BE DONE TO ENRICH

DEFENSE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES,

SHORT OF A FORMAL SECURITY GUARANTEE. AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE US NEGOTIATING POSITION WAS THE OFFER TO EXPLORE A SPANISH-US COMBINED MILITARY STAFF WHICH COULD ENGAGE IN CONTINGENCY PLANNING, FORCE STRUCTURE PLANNING, INTELLIGENCE EXCHANGE, AND OTHER FUNCTIONS TO BE JOINTLY AGREED. IN THE US VIEW, SUCH STAFF WORK WOULD GO FAR TO MEET THE REITERATED SPANISH DESIRE FOR GREATER PARTICIPATION IN WESTERN DEFENSE AND TO AVOID POSSIBLE DUPLICATION OR CONFLICT BETWEEN SPANISH AND NATO PLANNING.

5. DESPITE THE US PROPOSALS, HOWEVER, THE SPANISH HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO GIVE UP THEIR DEMAND FOR A SECURITY COMMITMENT, WHICH THE SPANISH NEGOTIATORS INSIST IS NECESSARY TO MEET EXISTING AND FUTURE PUBLIC PRESSURES TO JUSTIFY THE MILITARY RISKS THEY SEE ASSUMED BY SPAIN. THUS, WHEN THE SPANISH CAME TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE US COULD NOT OFFER A BILATERAL GUARANTEE, THEY TURNED THEIR ATTENTION TO THE MULTILATERAL POSSIBILITY. DISCUSSIONS IN ROUNDS FOUR AND FIVE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE DEALT PRIMARILY WITH THE RELATIONSHIP OF SPAIN TO NATO.

6. THE THRUST OF THE SPANISH POSITION IS THAT, AT NO COST TO ITSELF, NATO BENEFITS FROM THE FACILITIES USED BY THE US UNDER THE BILATERAL AGREEMENT. THE PURPOSE OF THE US FORCES IN SPAIN IS LARGELY TO SUPPORT NATO MISSIONS, BUT SPAIN IS EXCLUDED FROM THE PLANNING MECHANISM WHICH DEFINES THOSE MISSIONS AND THE OBJECTIVES AND ROLES OF THE VARIOUS NATIONAL FORCES. THEREFORE, THE SPANISH NEGOTIATORS ARGUE THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH AN APPROPRIATE RELATIONSHIP WITH

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NATO. - --

7. A PART OF THE SPANISH POSITION IS THAT THE FACILITIES AVAILABLE FOR US USE IN THE FUTURE SHOULD BE TAILORED TO CONFORM TO SPAIN'S PARTICIPATION IN WESTERN DEFENSE. IN THE LAST TWO NEGOTIATING ROUNDS, THE SPANISH HAVE INDICATED THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF CLOSER TIES TO NATO, US-SPANISH DEFENSE COOPERATION WOULD BE ADJUSTED ACCORDINGLY.

8. FACED WITH THIS SHIFT IN SPANISH THINKING, THE US NEGOTIATORS HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DESCRIBE FRANKLY THE DIFFICULTIES RAISED BY THE SPANISH DEMANDS. WE HAVE POINTED OUT THAT THE US CONTINUES TO SUPPORT SPAIN'S ENTRY INTO NATO. WE HAVE LIKEWISE EXPLAINED THAT

THE EVOLUTION OF SPANISH RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATO COUNTRIES WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE ENHANCED BY THE PROGRESS OF THE FAVORABLE POLITICAL EVOLUTION NOW TAKING PLACE IN SPAIN. WE HAVE FURTHER SUGGESTED THAT SPAIN STATE ITS INTERESTS IN NATO DIRECTLY TO OTHER ALLIES.

9. WE HAVE ALSO ATTEMPTED TO SHOW THE SPANISH THAT THERE IS LITTLE STRATEGIC LOGIC IN THE NOTION THAT EUROPEAN SECURITY CAN BE DIVIDED INTO BILATERAL AND REGIONAL SEGMENTS. IN THIS ENDEAVOR, WE HAVE NOTED THE EVOLUTION IN OUR THINKING REGARDING THE PROPER DEFENSE POSTURE IN EUROPE, FROM MASSIVE RETALIATION IN THE 1950'S TO THE PRESENT CONCEPT OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE. WE HAVE

POINTED OUT THAT SPAIN, AS A EUROPEAN COUNTRY, ALSO BENEFITS FROM THE SUCCESS OF NATO STRATEGY IN DETERRING CONFLICT.

10. HOWEVER, THE SPANISH THUS FAR HAVE NOT ACCEPTED THESE US COUNTER ARGUMENTS AND CONTINUE TO PRESS THEIR DEMAND FOR SOME SORT OF TIE WITH NATO AS A SINE QUA NON FOR CONTINUED US USE OF ALL THE FACILITIES NOW ENJOYED. THE NATURE OF THE NATO RELATIONSHIP DESIRED BY SPAIN REMAINS UNCLEAR. WHILE FUTURE NEGOTIATING SESSIONS MAY PROVIDE MORE SPECIFIC INFORMATION ABOUT THIS SPANISH POSITION, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT SERIOUS THOUGHT WILL HAVE
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TO BE GIVEN TO THE FUTURE OF SPAIN'S EXPLICIT ROLE IN WESTERN DEFENSE. KISSINGER

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